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ABSTRACT

As many interracial problems and issues are focused upon in the general society and in the education system, increasing numbers of counselors, educators, personnel workers, and the like, are being called upon to provide assistance. The Cultural Study Center at the UNIVERSITY OF Maryland, College Park, has developed an approach to working with racism in educational institutions which may prove useful to others attempting change in this area. The model is aimed primarily at changing whites or white oriented institutions. In order to demonstrate the model, the approach used in two different Maryland school systems is discussed and evaluated. One program was conducted for a large suburban system, with more than 160,000 students enrolled, which had had many racial incidents and problems over the years, and was expecting a court ordered desegregation plan to go into effect shortly after the conference was held. A two day conference for 91 key central office staff and supervisors was held. The second conference, lasting for two and one half days, was held for 36 principals, vice principals, and some central office staff of a small, primarily rural system with 17,000 students. This system was just beginning to have increasing numbers of blacks enrolled in their schools as a city's suburbs pushed outward, and had had the beginnings of relatively mild confrontations between blacks and whites. (Author/JM)

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Research Report # 1-73

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CULTURAL STUDY CENTER

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SUMMARY

A model is presented which is aimed primarily at changing whites or white oriented institutions, or in essence those who control the bulk of the education system. The model is seen as progressive in that it appears important to work through the various stages in order, so as to build upon each earlier stage. The model is demonstrated by its use at two conferences for public school educators in Maryland. Stages in the model are: I. Cultural and Racial Differences, II. Racism and How It Operates, III. Examining Racial Attitudes, IV. Sources of Racial Attitudes, V. Behavior: What Can Be Done?, VI. Behavior: How Can It Be Done? Details and specific outcomes at each stage are discussed. Also the importance of using black and white consultants or group leaders and when to use each is discussed. The key to the whole model is that it is geared to results rather than intentions and focuses on long term outcomes.

As many interracial problems and issues are focused upon in the general society and in the education system, increasing numbers of counselors, educators, personnel workers, etc., (black and white) are being called upon to provide assistance. The problems are often hard to pinpoint, difficult to work with and highly emotional. The Cultural Study Center at the University of Maryland, College Park, has developed an approach to working with racism in educational institutions which may prove useful to others attempting change in this area. The approach or model has been developed over several years and is based on research and direct experience in a number of types and levels of educational settings. The model is aimed primarily at changing whites or white oriented institutions, or in essence those who control the bulk of the education system. The model is also seen as progressive in that it appears important to work through the various stages in order, so as to build upon each earlier stage. Generally, the stages are viewed as necessary to go through whether the time involved in the program is an hour or several years.

In order to demonstrate the model, the approach used in two different Maryland school systems will be discussed and evaluated. One program was conducted for a large suburban system with more than 160,000 students enrolled. The system had had many racial incidents and problems over the years and was expecting a court ordered school desegregation plan to go into effect shortly after the conference was held. A two day conference for 91 key central office staff and supervisors was held.

The second conference, lasting 2 1/2 days, was held for 36 principals, vice principals and some central office staff of a small, primarily rural system with 17,000 students. This system was just beginning to have increasing numbers of blacks enrolled in their schools as a city's suburbs pushed outward. The system had had the beginnings of relatively mild confrontations between blacks and whites.

The model was used in both settings and consisted of five stages. The general results and conclusions of the stages are discussed, along with any notable differences between the conferences. The points listed in each stage often were brought out by consultants amid heated discussion and controversy. Both conferences consisted of working in smaller groups of 10-15 with an occasional general session. Consultants were black and white, male and female, and chosen for their diversity of style but extensive training on the model, and the explicit goals of each session insured common goals. Participants remained in their respective small groups and the consultants rotated each half day or whole day. It was hoped that this tactic would maintain some group identity for participants but give them exposure to a variety of consultants. The model was discussed with a planning group from each system prior to the conference and the large system surveyed participants before the conference and their specific problems were covered at appropriate points in the model. Participants at both conferences were overwhelmingly white, with 5 blacks of 91 at one and 1 black of 36 at the other.

Stage I - Cultural and Racial Differences

A. Points made by consultants and participants. (1) Cultural and racial differences exist: they should be openly discussed and understood by all. (2) Differences can and should be approached and presented positively in and out of the classroom. (3) Black expressions of racial and cultural identity are necessary and healthy for blacks and for the rest of society. (4) Standard English is a white, middle class concept and teachers and pupils should be allowed cultural expression through language in the classroom. (5) Many blacks have questionable environmental support for education and are not likely to be motivated by traditional methods. (6) Most white teachers are not prepared by background or training to work with most of the black students they encounter. (7)

Blacks may act differently, and generally more negatively, to authority in a society many feel has oppressed them. (8) Traditional threats from authority figures or informing parents may do more harm than good. (9) Understanding cultural and racial differences and designing educational experiences and reinforcing in that context is crucial to any education.

B. Evaluation and discussion. Many participants had difficulty in dealing with differences as positive concepts. The epithet "I treat everyone exactly alike" was heard often. Criticism from participants included not getting enough specific content, and the style of some of the consultants. Sessions varied in content covered and participant reactions all the way from feeling relevant content was covered to feeling the session was a waste of time. Upon later reflection, the consultants felt this was as far as some participants were willing to go. That is, feeling that if they had a few "tips" on how to deal with blacks, they could solve their problems.

Participants were very heterogeneous with some having knowledge of racial issues and others who had never before dealt with the topic. This was particularly true in the smaller conference where participants from schools with no black students viewed the session much like a class in medieval history. That is, it was of academic interest but they felt it of no practical use to them.

It should be noted that many written materials on this topic were given to participants but were little read. This points up a classic problem in this area often noted by librarians, black curriculum specialists, etc.: the materials are available but often sit on library shelves. Without training, most teachers are unlikely to feel comfortable with or oriented to experimenting with new materials or curricula. The single most useful pamphlet the writers have found in initially raising the issue of cultural and racial differences is by Noar (1972).

Stage II - Racism and How It Operates

A. Points made by consultants and participants. (1) Individual racism is action taken by one individual toward another which *results in negative outcomes* because the other person is identified with a certain group. The group may be racial, cultural, sexual, ideological, etc. (2) Institutional racism is the action taken by a social system or institution which *results in negative outcomes* for members of a certain group or groups. (3) The definitions of racism are behavioral in that *results, not intentions, are important.* Most racism is unknowing or unintentional. (4) Some examples of racism in County schools:

a. Segregated system with blacks in pockets, resulting in fewer facilities, fewer teachers, and less money spent per pupil on black students.

b. Because supervisors are less prepared and perhaps less comfortable in dealing with teachers and problems in primarily black schools, fewer visits may be made to these schools.

c. There are few blacks in supervisory or central staff positions in County schools.

d. Most parts of County school curricula are oriented toward white middle class children.

e. Curriculum materials more relevant to blacks and other minorities are available, but are used relatively little by teachers.

f. Most County teachers have little or no preparation for teaching black students or in presenting material more relevant to them.

g. Lack of funds and manpower committed by County schools to work on race relations.

(5) Since most of the society is run by and for whites, racism is primarily a white problem. Unless whites are able to change individually and collectively

through institutions, white racism is likely to remain. (6) Racism is analogous to alcoholism in that if we say, "Well, maybe I drink a little too much occasionally," we are not likely to begin to deal with our problem. However, if we understand and admit our alcoholism, we can begin to work on it. We are all racists and should begin to work on our problem.

B. Evaluation and discussion. While the concept of institutional racism was difficult for many participants to understand, the consultants generally reported some progress in participants' understanding how County policy and everyday practices of teachers, administrators, and policy makers could be detrimental to blacks, regardless of intentions. The groups were heterogeneous in many respects and many participants were still not much involved in the discussion. Irrelevancy, negativism and preaching were criticisms made by participants.

Many participants were still operating at a comfortable intellectual level but some began to get very defensive, perhaps in anticipation of what was to come. Several points in the development of the model should be made here. The first session was aimed at picking up participants where they were and getting them involved. If they could see that differences can be approached positively and *then* be made to see that the white society creates some negative differences and that it is whites who must work on *their* problem, the whole orientation and outlook will be much different for most participants. An important shift in consultant emphasis and dependency is also made. An attempt is made to shift participants from the typical posture of "needing" a black to come in and tell them what to do to one of; it's your problem, individually and collectively, and white consultants may be more valuable in many areas because of their knowledge of white society. This is a difficult switch but if this hurdle is not passed, the writers feel little will be accomplished in the conference.

Participants will compete for the favor of the black consultants rather than to seek more independence for their views and actions and they might not come to terms with the issue. The black consultant can play an effective helping role by maintaining a low emotional level. The participants no doubt will look for crutches and these should be minimized.

Stage III - Examining Racial Attitudes

A. Procedures and results. Participants completed the Situational Attitude Scale (SAS) anonymously. The SAS was designed to measure the attitudes of whites toward blacks in ten personal or social situations. Two forms of the SAS were created; Form A makes no mention of race; Form B is identical to Form A except that the word "black" was inserted into each situation in Form B. Half the participants completed Form A and the other half Form B. Forms were distributed randomly so that any average or mean differences found in responses to the forms could be attributed to the word "black." Table 1 shows SAS instructions and situations. Responses of black participants were not analyzed.

Results indicated generally negative attitudes toward blacks with a strong negative reaction to Situation V (Your best friend has just become engaged to a black person). Respondents tended to feel sad, intolerable, insulted, angered, fearful, hopeless, unexcited, wrong, and disgusting in their reactions to the situation. Respondents tended to feel positive toward blacks in Situations III (It is evening and a black man appears at your door saying he is selling magazines) and VI (You are stopped for speeding by a black policeman). Respondents tended to feel receptive, excited, glad and pleased toward the magazine salesman, and calm, friendly, cooperative, pleasant and accepting toward the policeman. These results have been interpreted in other studies (Sedlacek and Brooks 1970, 1972) as indicating that these seemingly positive attitudes reflect

the feeling that "service roles" more distant from close contact are appropriate for blacks.[1]

A summary of the feelings of a hypothetical typical respondent would be "It's OK for blacks to sell me magazines or be policemen but they had better not come much closer or, in particular, get engaged to any of my friends."

B. Evaluation and discussion. Questionnaires were scored overnight and a summary of results was presented to each participant and discussed. While some participants discussed and analyzed the results with interest, many steadfastly refused to consider them or their implications. A variety of defensive reactions, attacks on the SAS and the conference, etc., took place and this session was probably the most emotional of the conference. These reactions were generally expected by the consultants who were trying to make the point that whites may have more negative attitudes toward blacks than they thought. The biggest problem with the session was the danger of opening an emotionally difficult area and not being able to handle the feelings generated adequately.

Stage IV - Sources of Racial Attitudes

A. Points made by consultants and participants. (1) We all have racial stereotypes that determine how we feel and act toward other races. The SAS pointed this out. (2) Textbooks help perpetuate racial stereotypes. (3) The nature of prejudice and racism should be taught at all educational levels. This is particularly crucial for young whites in that they are not likely to be able to avoid becoming racists without help. (4) Prejudice and racism as well as black culturally relevant content should be an integral part of the regular curriculum and not isolated as "black week," etc. (5) One way racial stereotypes are

[1]Copies of means, standard deviations and *t* tests available from the writers on request.

institutionalized and hurt all pupils is teachers, black and white, having lower expectations for black students. (6) Since we have defined racism and seen our own attitudes are negative, let's assume the racism exists and see what we can do about it.

B. Evaluation and Discussion. Sessions III and IV ran together and many participants were still dealing with feelings developed from the SAS. Some participants were ready to move on, others were not.

Here again was another place where having black and white consultants proved valuable. A white consultant initially presented the SAS results and received a great deal of hostility and anger. A black consultant then wrapped up the attitude sessions and left them with final thoughts. This technique served several useful purposes. First, it allowed participants to openly vent more of their feelings at the white consultant, rather than to internalize them. They were more ready to listen after this process, so a black consultant could make some good points. If the black consultant goes first or covers the whole session there tends to be an internalization of hostility and frustration and many participants are not able to move on. Additionally, it is difficult and unpleasant for some black consultants to deal with highly emotionally based racial attitudes in a group of whites.

The technique of role playing specific educational situations involving blacks and whites was used in the smaller conference with much apparent success. This group was less able to discuss their racial attitudes prior to role playing.

Stage V - Behavior: What Can Be Done?

A. Goals stated by participants. A great many goals were stated in both conferences but only the more salient and generalizable will be noted here:

(1) To investigate the whole concept of teacher quotas, positive and negative effects, and develop a fair policy. (2) To suggest changes in curricula from K-12: special emphasis was on language; integrated social studies versus black studies; instructional materials and massive inservice with teachers working with curriculum and instructional materials. (3) To plan some effective communication techniques as schools are newly integrated. (In the past it was felt this had been one reason for racial outburst - no preplanning.) (4) To document the proportion of discipline cases as they relate to blacks and whites. (5) To review the use of test scores. (6) To review classifications of central staff personnel and analyze the salary structure. (7) To find ways of involving the community. (8) To make sure there is follow-up from this conference. (9) Proper techniques for teaching English to black youngsters. Make sure their own speech is not put down. (10) More information on racism. (11) Central administration support for positions taken to reduce or eliminate racism. (12) Effective recruitment of black administrators and teachers. (13) We must find appropriate standards to judge and develop programs for blacks in a positive way. (14) Experience with and understanding of race relations should be required for hiring and promotion. (15) Black artists and scholars should be included in the curricula.

B. Evaluation and discussion. Participants varied considerably in their willingness to state goals. Some refused to recognize that racism existed in the schools in the system and would not state goals; however, most were able to develop some goals and were glad to move from the more emotional attitude sessions.

One important shift which should take pla[illegible] by this time in the conferences is that most or all the points made should come from participants rather than consultants. This can be used as an intermediate criterion of the success of the conference.

Stage VI - Behavior: How Can It Be Done?

A. Points made by participants. (1) Set goals - long and short term. (2) Be behavioral - results not intentions count. (3) Learn what reinforcements will work in the system; read *Rules for radicals* (Alinsky, 1971) and *Beyond freedom and dignity* (Skinner, 1971). (4) Facilitate communication through separate monthly newsletters for elementary and secondary students, staff and teachers listing human relations news, achievements, events, etc. (5) Establish a coordinating board of student representatives with all minorities represented and with some responsibility for policy making. (6) Encourage students to express their cultural and racial identities through clubs and groups (e.g., black student union). (7) Schools should provide regular and periodic extracurricular activities of particular interest to blacks. (8) The professional educators in County schools should take stands on race-related issues and work actively for change. (9) Whites must initiate and "carry the ball" in working on their own racism. Waiting for blacks to tell whites what to do is a "cop out." (10) Busing is a "red herring copout." If the system is committed to ending racial injustice in the schools, it either finds a better way (which it has not done) or it buses now. (11) *Actively* recruit blacks at all levels; the institutionalized practices which keep blacks from applying must be overcome. (12) Hire only blacks or other minorities for all positions until the imbalance is corrected. (13) Set up team or cluster teaching situations to aid the white teachers in black schools. (14) Have regular staff development in race relations over a long and sustained period. (15) Positive racial experiences and race relations training must be provided for students at all levels of the educational system. (16) Require the school system budget to list how much money is being spent on eliminating racism and the percentage increase from the previous year. A great deal more money must be committed if any change is to take place.

B. Evaluation and discussion. At this point most participants were able to contribute strategies to the session. Due to the large number not all are reported above. Stages V and VI tended to blend together but their independence is less important than ending the conference on an action oriented "here's what to do" note. Ideally, Stage V results in the stating of goals and Stage VI results in a listing of strategies to accomplish those goals. The entire model is geared up to maximize these sessions. The philosophy is that the first four stages are needed to educate and prepare participants to state much better and clearer goals and strategies. It is the observation of the writers that most groups or individuals are not ready to discuss strategy without more background on the topic.

Overall Evaluation and Discussion of Conferences

Participants completed an evaluation form at the conferences or mailed it in later. The first question asked was, "What was the *best* thing about the conference?" The most common responses were getting to know others in the system, talking about real or "gut" issues and getting things out in the open, rotating the consultants, learning about racism, learning about black views, and the quality of a consultant or consultants. A variety of items were mentioned less often including the format of the conference and the openness of participants.

In response to the question, "What was the *worst* thing about the conference?" responses were more scattered with a lack of specific and practical issues, and disappointment in the closedmindedness of fellow workers mentioned most often. The consultants preaching or being negative rather than discussing, and the SAS were also mentioned. Other responses were widely scattered.

Responses to the question, "What do you *feel* differently about after the conference?" were a better understanding of racism, a better understanding of blacks, feeling we can work together, feeling frustrated and incompetent, and feeling there is more racism in the system than we thought. Other responses were scattered.

Responses to the question, "What will you *do* differently after the conference?" were work to understand and identify racism more, work on improving race relations, be more aware, work with teachers more, influence decision makers, and meet with colleagues. Other responses were scattered.

As one looks back on the conferences, they were obviously a mixed bag. There was great heterogeneity among the participants, with some eager to learn and change, and others uninterested, uninvolved and unwilling. Clearly many participants were bothered by the content, frustrated and less sure of themselves. This was to be expected, and in a sense is a prerequisite to possible change. There is no way that individuals or a school system are going to change regarding racism and race relations in a comfortable way. The roots of racism run deep and have had many years to develop a comfortable atmosphere about them. If people are pleased and feel good after a conference on race relations, it means one of two things; either the issues were avoided completely or the participants did not need the training. Change always involves some risk and discomfort. The consultants attempted to confront issues with a minimum of discomfort of participants, to stimulate, educate and provide some tools for change. In order for a two day intervention to have any realistic effect, the participants *and* the school system itself must pick up on what has been started in the conference. Without a strong commitment to a long range program, it is highly unlikely that anything will come of such conferences. Ultimately a conference must be judged by its long range effects.

The long range effects of these particular conferences have yet to come to pass, although the large system is in the midst of initiating a massive race relations training package, including activities and projects for teachers, students, bus drivers, cafeteria workers, parents and community residents, etc. The smaller system has established a black student-parent advisory group and begun more intensive race relations training for teachers in several schools.

The reader is reminded that the model is dynamic and changing and that many potential strategies and variations are possible. Each time the model is used it is modified somewhat. However, at the present time the basic approach discussed above seems to work in a variety of settings and under various conditions. The writers invite comments and criticisms and are particularly interested in learning of the experiences of others with this and other models.

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TABLE 1

Instructions and Situations from the Situational Attitude Scale*

INSTRUCTIONS

This questionnaire measures how people think and feel about a number of social and personal incidents and situations. It is not a test so there are no right or wrong answers. The questionnaire is anonymous so please DO NOT SIGN YOUR NAME.

Each item or situation is followed by 10 descriptive word scales. Your task is to select, for each descriptive scale, the rating which best describes YOUR feelings toward the item.

Sample item: Going out on a date

happy ' A ' B ' C ' D ' E ' sad

You would indicate the direction and extent of your feelings (e.g., you might select B) by indicating your choice (B) on your response sheet by blackening in the appropriate space for that word scale. DO NOT MARK ON THE BOOKLET. PLEASE RESPOND TO ALL WORD SCALES.

Sometimes you may feel as though you had the same item before on the questionnaire. This will not be the case, so DO NOT LOOK BACK AND FORTH through the items. Do not try to remember how you checked similar items earlier in the questionnaire. MAKE EACH ITEM A SEPARATE AND INDEPENDENT JUDGMENT. Respond as honestly as possible without puzzling over individual items. Respond with your first impressions whenever possible.

SITUATIONS

	FORM A	FORM B
I.	A new family moves in next door to you.	A new black family moves in next door to you.
II.	You read in the paper that a man has raped a woman.	You read in the paper that a black man has raped a white woman.
III.	It is evening and a man appears at your door saying he is selling magazines.	It is evening and a black man appears at your door saying he is selling magazines.
IV.	You are walking down the street alone and must pass a corner where a group of five young men are loitering.	You are walking down the street alone and must pass a corner where a group of five your black men are loitering.
V.	Your best friend has just become engaged.	Your best friend has just become engaged to a black person.
VI.	You are stopped for speeding by a policeman.	You are stopped for speeding by a black policeman.
VII.	A new person joins your social group.	A new black person joins your social group.
VIII.	You see a youngster steal something in a dimestore.	You see a black youngster steal something in a dimestore.
IX.	Some students on campus stage a demonstration.	Some black students on campus stage a demonstration.
X.	You get on a bus and you are the only person who has to stand.	You get on a bus that has all black people aboard and you are the only person who has to stand.

*The Situational Attitude Scale is copyrighted and available from Natresources, Inc., 520 N. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60611.